622 the region south-east of Aleppo. In the Jezireh the sheikh of
423 the Fedn'an-Weld increased his tree plantations and experiments
241 of cotton cultivation.[1]

622 The estates of the tribal sheikhs are worked by fellahin
434 and settled nomads, but the considerable land-holdings of the
427 powerful Shammar and Aneseh chiefs are predominantly cultivated by fellahin while their tribesmen still continue to subsist on camel and sheep-breeding.[2]

622 Most of the tribal leaders have been anxious to obtain
653 for their people some of the amenities enjoyed by the sedentary
657 population. As result of their petitions to the Mandatory
658 Government, ancient wells were restored and new ones created, medical service was extended to Bedouin areas and public education made available to the tribes. The Services Hydrauliques sunk water wells in 1930/31 along the principal routes of Bedouin migration.[3] This service enabled the exploitation of pastures which had been heretofore out of the Bedouin's reach on account of the lack of water nearby. Infirmaries and dispensaries were established at the edge of the desert and at Palmyre. In 1931 three mobile hospitals were set up in Palmyre, Deir ez-Zor and Aleppo respectively. In 1930 two itinerary schools were added to the four already in existence to serve the EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE TRIBES.

1. Rapport, 1935, p. 106
2. Bretain, 1940, p. 77
3. Rapport, 1931, pp. 99-100

educational needs of the tribes. 000

This policy[1] aimed at introducing improvements into the 178
Bedouin mode of living without changing it. 185

Some of the sheikhs made serious attempts to settle the 622
tribesmen on their estates. The Haddâdyin began in the 30's 427 ●
to cultivate on the estates of their sheikh.[2] Rakan, the 166X
sheikh of the Shu'a, has been consistently trying to make the
members of his tribe engage in agriculture.[3]

Apart from minor successes the attempts of sedentarization were largely premature. While economic changes and a taste for modern living induced a great number of the sheikhs to abandon nomadism and settle down, the majority of the tribesmen preferred to continue their pastoral activities and their traditional migrations. Even economic disasters in the desert did not appreciably accelerate the pace of their sedentarization.

In 1931, for example, the Syrian Bedouin lost 30 - 40 per 233
cent of their animals in the wake of inclement weather conditions.[4] 434
1931/32 was also a season of exceptional drought when certain tribes lost 50 per cent of their camels and 80 per cent of their sheep.[5] The desert was strewn with animals that died of hunger. 166X
The critical situation among the tribes prompted the French Mandatory Government[6] to encourage the nomads to settle down to an agricultural life. Fertile land and implements were freely dis-

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 296
2. Ibid., p. 85
3. Rapport, 1931, p. 98
4. Rapport, 1932, p. 91
5. The French High Commission maintained a special tribal service

[I.E. GOVERNMENTAL REFORMS -- ANALYST]

SYRIA BEDOUINS MJ4

In 1949, Nuri Sha'lan, the chief of the Ruala, went on record 425
with the statement that all his tribesmen now wanted land because 166x
the declining desert economy made settlement inevitable,[1] and recommended to parcel out the newly developed land to the tribesmen in individual holdings instead of allowing it to become the private property of the sheikhs as this was the case in Iraq. Actually, however, there has been in Syria as heavy a concentration of tribal land in the hands of the leaders as in Iraq. The change of tribal society in Syria may lag behind the development in Iraq, but the process of conversion from communally held tribal land to individual property seems to assume the same patterns, the sheikh emerging as the large landlord and the tribesmen as his exploited tenants and share-croppers.

In recent years wealthy families, city notables, leased from 427
the sheikhs large areas of tribal land in the Jezireh and put them under cultivation of grain[2] and cotton.[3]

Land reform has become a major domestic issue in Syria in 423

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1. New York Times, September 6, 1949
   It must be understood that the declaration was made for political reasons. The issue was the admission and settlement of Arab refugees from Palestine on newly developed land in Syria, a plan to which Sha'lan violently objected on the ground that the tribesmen needed the land for settlement. The tribes have survived when they can cultivate and, as far as the Ruala are concerned, they belong to the purest of the remaining camel-Bedouin and are not yet ready for agricultural life. Rassam states (1930, p. 477) that the Ruala would resist any attempt to settle them, many preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to Central Arabia than adopt the life of settlers.
2. Yearbook, 1951, p. 11
3. New York Times, August 13, 1951

PALESTINE SYRIA BEDOUINS MJ4

423 general. The idea of encouraging small and medium landholdings was incorporated in the new Syrian Constitution of 1950.

578 427 659 In the summer of 1951 violent clashes occurred in Syria between tenants and the agents of the big landlords, a development which testifies to the tenseness of the situation. Angry complaints were voiced in the Syrian Parliament against the government which does not challenge the encroachment on State Domains by the rich landowning families, and it was alleged that in the Jezirah tribal sheikhs connive with them by leasing every land on which the tribesmen enjoyed traditional grazing rights.[1]

Failure to make provisions for adequate conditions of land holding tends to retard tribal settlement. The enactment of sweeping land reforms, however, cannot be envisaged as long as the few, but powerful, land-owning families control the administration, and make even the allocation of State lands to small owners difficult.

Mandatory Palestine

162 361 Since World War I there have been no true Bedouin in Palestine, only semi-nomads. In the 1930's 47 902 out of the 66 551 nomads of Palestine[2] were encamped in the Beersheba district of the Negev, the rest scattered in the other parts of the country.

361 233 The tribes of Beersheba are the Tarabin, Tayaha, Azazme,

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1. New York Times, August 13, 1951
2. Report of 1931 census of Palestine

JORDAN BEDOUINS MJ4

The Mandatory Report of 1929 stated [1] that there was a marked tendency among the nomads of Transjordan to settle, especially among the Beni Sakhr who owned a considerable area of land.[2] The same document points out, however, that the tribesmen are not yet engaged in cultivation, but employ fellahin to till the soil for them. A. Konikoff who published a study of the Transjordan economy about fifteen years after the above quoted report has nothing new to add [3] implying that no material change has taken place.

166X 427

In spite of substantial land-holdings, most members of the Beni Sakhr seem not yet psychologically prepared to settle down.

166X 241 425

The case of the Howeitat, the second most powerful tribe of Transjordan,[4] is different. While the majority of the Bedouin the Howeitat do not show the traditional contempt for agriculture.[5] They cultivate all the fertile land in their tribal area. The agricultural activities of the Howeitat increased considerably when they acquired the Shar'ah plain from the Ba'ajnat tribe during the latter part of the 19th century. The tribesmen practiced a mixed economy consisting of tillage and livestock-

BREEDING.

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1. Report, 1929 b, p. 138
2. They possess about 24 villages, whose land is tilled by fellahin and tenants (cf. Epstein, 1938, p. 23). The tribe is scattered from the hills of Balqa to Wadi Shishan and from Amman to Madeba.
3. Konikoff, 1946, p. 30
4. The Howeitat have about 1 000 tents and dwell in the Ma'an and Aqaba region.
5. The Howeitat did not originally come from the Hejaz or the Najd. It is alleged that the tribe has always been connected with the Transjordan territory. One theory suggests that the Howeitat are the descendents of ancient Nabateans, another considers them the offspring of armed merchants from the Red Sea coast and fellahin from Negeb and Shomah who in the course of time became Bedouin. (cf. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 29)

421 considered the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 and the Registration
425 Law of 1859 as governmental measures designed for purposes of taxation and military conscription. They left it to the village notables and tribal sheikhs to enter all the land in their names. During the second part of the 19th century the large landholdings of the powerful sheikhs were substantially increased as the result of the Sultan's policy to win their co-operation by gifts of land. The developments during the 19th century thus laid the foundations for the inequality of land-ownership which has become the scourge of the Middle Eastern agrarian society.

421 As long as the patriarchal social order was maintained, the
425 economic life of the tribe was not disturbed by the growing con-
427 centration of land in the hands of the sheikhs. Part of the land
566 was cultivated by slaves or fellahin tenants, the rest used by the tribesmen as grazing areas for their flocks of animals. But when the tribal leaders began to evince an ever increasing interest in agriculture, the semi-legal transfer of land, formerly the collective property of the tribe, to the private ownership of the sheikhs had the effect that the "primus inter pares" within the democratic tribal society emerged as the big semi-feudal landlord.

421 The Mandatory authorities further strengthened the power of
566 the landlords by legal recognition of their rights in the lands which they claimed as their own.

421 Progressive circles in the Arab countries are in favor of

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